

Technical and Bibliographic Notes / Notes techniques et bibliographiques

The Institute has attempted to obtain the best original copy available for filming. Features of this copy which may be bibliographically unique, which may alter any of the images in the reproduction, or which may significantly change the usual method of filming, are checked below.

- Coloured covers/
Couverture de couleur
- Covers damaged/
Couverture enroumée
- Covers restored and/or laminated/
Couverture restaurée et/ou pelliculée
- Cover title missing/
Le titre de couverture manque
- Coloured maps/
Cartes géographiques en couleur
- Coloured ink (i.e. other than blue or black)/
Encre de couleur (i.e. autre que bleue ou noire)
- Coloured plates and/or illustrations/
Planches et/ou illustrations en couleur
- Bound with other material/
Relié avec d'autres documents
- Tight binding may cause shadows or distortion
along interior margin/
La reliure serrée peut causer de l'ombre ou de la
distortion le long de la marge intérieure
- Blank leaves added during restoration may appear
within the text. Whenever possible, these have
been omitted from filming/
Il se peut que certaines pages blanches ajoutées
lors d'une restauration apparaissent dans le texte,
mais, lorsque cela était possible, ces pages n'ont
pas été filmées.
- Additional comments:/
Commentaires supplémentaires:

This item is filmed at the reduction ratio checked below/
Ce document est filmé au taux de réduction indiqué ci-dessous.

10X	14X	18X	22X	26X	30X
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
12X	16X	20X	24X	28X	32X

L'exemplaire filmé fut reproduit grâce à la générosité de:

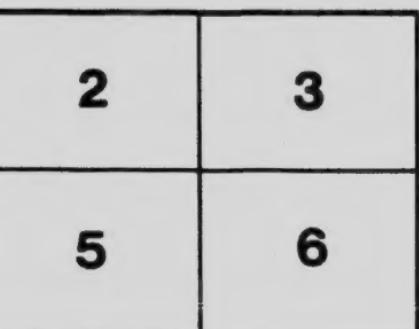
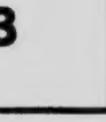
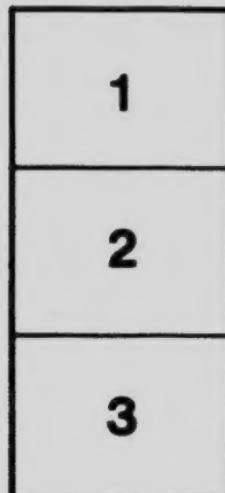
Bibliothèque nationale du Canada

Les images suivantes ont été reproduites avec le plus grand soin, compte tenu de la condition et de la netteté de l'exemplaire filmé, et en conformité avec les conditions du contrat de filmage.

Les exemplaires originaux dont la couverture en papier est imprimée sont filmés en commençant par le premier plat et en terminant soit par la dernière page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration, soit par le second plat, selon le cas. Tous les autres exemplaires originaux sont filmés en commençant par la première page qui comporte une empreinte d'impression ou d'illustration et en terminant par la dernière page qui comporte une telle empreinte.

Un des symboles suivants apparaîtra sur la dernière image de chaque microfiche, selon le cas: le symbole → signifie "A SUIVRE", le symbole ▽ signifie "FIN".

Les cartes, planches, tableaux, etc., peuvent être filmés à des taux de réduction différents. Lorsque le document est trop grand pour être reproduit en un seul cliché, il est filmé à partir de l'angle supérieur gauche, de gauche à droite, et de haut en bas, en prenant le nombre d'images nécessaire. Les diagrammes suivants illustrent la méthode.



Some Phases of Imperialism

Address Delivered by R. C. Smith, K. C.,
before the Canadian Club, Montreal,
March 7th, 1910

FC 245
S5

MONTREAL.
PUBLISHED BY THE CANADIAN CLUB
1910

Some Phases of Imperialism

An Address

Delivered before the Canadian Club, Montreal,

March 7th, 1910, by R. C. Smith, K.C.

In considering what I might talk about for half an hour to-day, it seemed to me that notwithstanding all that has been said and written of late on the subject, there were a few plain matter of fact things that might usefully be said about our Imperial relations. The word "Imperialism" itself is a striking one and in some imaginations it appears still to loom up as suggesting some impending political change that would submerge our autonomy and engulf us in the whirlpool of European complications. We hear of this one and that, that he is too imperialistic in his tendencies, and more than once we have heard in connection with the very interesting debate upon the Government's naval policy, opinions expressed upon that policy and upon the alternative suggestions of the opposition, in their relation to Imperialism. Some think the participation of the Government in the naval conferences in London, and the naval policy now under discussion are too imperialistic—others think they are not imperialistic enough. Some think the opposition proposal of giving a couple of Dreadnoughts and having done with it, is not really Imperialistic and others think it is far too much so. Some even speak of our drifting toward Imperialism. The way the matter is put at times, a visitor from Mars would suppose that we are not already part of the British Empire. We are a part of the Empire, and if we wish a change we must frankly advocate separation. There is not a gleam of reason in attempting to make a bugaboo of Imperialism, unless we are prepared logically to advocate independence or annexation. I certainly would not be guilty of introducing party politics before a Canadian Club, even though I notice that some of those addressing Western Canadian Clubs have not had the same idea of propriety. I will simply say that for one I have been glad to observe the Imperialistic note in the speeches on both sides of the House, as evidence of the awakening of the long dormant sense of this Country's responsibility as an integral part of the British Empire.

Taking a practical common-sense view of our position, we have a long coast line on the Pacific and another on the Atlantic including our Lower Provinces; we have a boundary line of thousands of miles between us and our powerful and friendly neighbours to the south of us; our foreign trade has trebled in twenty years; we are destined to become, no doubt, the greatest food producing country in the world; we are told that not more than four percent of our land suitable for wheat growing has yet been broken; we shall be growing what the world needs; the development of our mineral resources has only begun,

but has already startled the world ; the growth of our manufacturing industries has long since affected foreign markets; does any one dream that we can establish on this North American Continent a quiet retreat where we shall be left to our own devices by the nations of the earth? Before many of you around these tables become old men, we shall hear far less of the possibility of our being dragged into complications; our own interests will be world wide and will require for their safety and preservation nothing less than the prestige and the power of Empire. The Mother Country has generously allowed us to negotiate our own commercial treaties—I say generously for she might very well have said : "You contribute nothing for national defence and the more you extend your commercial relations, the more you increase the possibility of international friction, and if we have to defend your commerce you should allow us to negotiate your treaties." But the good old Mother-Country has taken a broader and more generous view. She has said in effect. "You know what your business interests require and I have confidence that you are able to look after them, and that the natural expansion of your national ideas, instead of meaning dismemberment, means so much addition to the power of the Empire as a whole." And so even to-day have we "dragged" ourselves into direct commercial relations with both France and Germany. We have a foreign trade; we have foreign relations; they are increasing and extending and must increase from year to year; to put the matter plainly they require more support and backing than this country alone is able to give them. Let us frankly admit it—our Imperial ties, were they nothing more, are ties of self-interest and not ties of bondage.

Now a word on our autonomy. This is something that the people of Canada hold sacred, and rightly so. The right to legislate for ourselves in all Canadian matters as we now enjoy it, is absolutely essential to our welfare. We know our own conditions and our own requirements. Conditions differ even among our own Provinces, and in our scheme of federation ample provision is made for government of local interests by local or provincial authority. But I venture to say that no one has ever heard from any responsible source even a suggestion that our present powers are to be in any way curtailed or interfered with. The provinces will retain unimpaired their present legislative jurisdiction over all provincial matters and the Dominion Parliament will continue to make laws for the Dominion in any development of our Imperial relations that can be imagined.

Many loyal and well-meaning people say that if it be granted that our legislative autonomy will not in any way be interfered with, we ought to seek some closer Imperial Federation in order that we might have some more direct voice in Imperial affairs. There are those who advocate our having direct representation in the House of Lords and House of Commons at Westminster. Perhaps they would like to see a sufficient number of Canadian Lords appointed to pass the Budget. But the Canadian Lords might pass a Tariff Reform measure as well, with a liberal Canadian preference. According to the reasoning of Mr. Harpell in an article on "Canada and Tariff Reform" in the January *Contemporary Review*, this would be a very doubtful advantage to Canada. That article, by the way, contained a number of very startling figures showing gradual decline in the wheat acreage of Ontario and at the same time decline in exports of dairy products etc. which I have not had time to verify. The editor of Current Events in the *Canadian Magazine* for March seems to admit them. If they are wrong I hope some of you will correct them; if they are right we all and particularly the people of Ontario are given a good deal to think about.

The question of overseas representation in the British Parliament is beset with many difficulties. As that Parliament is at present constituted it would be quite as incongruous that representatives of Canada should sit and vote upon English, Irish and Scotch affairs as that representatives of South Tyrone or Caithness should sit in the Canadian Parliament, and to sit and vote only upon matters which might be determined to be Imperial affairs, would be an unworkable arrangement. Representation of the overseas Dominions would involve a complete change in the Constitution and the creation of a Parliament for Imperial affairs only. One can quite imagine it possible that something of that kind may be the result of evolution, but it is difficult to conceive of such a thing as being either necessary or useful, until the Dependencies by virtue of population, wealth and contribution to national defence become entitled to a much larger representation than would be fair at the present time. It may be said that the theory is the same now as it would be then and that there is danger in a policy of drift. Of course, to meet the requirements of the theory representation would mean *per capita* taxation equal to that imposed upon the people of England, at least to provide for all new expenditure, with some proportion to provide for interest on past expenditure. If we were to have a voice in the direction of the navy and other national defences we would have to be taxed to bear some proportion of interest upon past expenditures which we did not vote upon. If we sought representation we could not reasonably object to such taxes. The representation at present obtainable upon any imaginable basis would be small and uninfluential and the tax considerable. It has more than once been pointed out that in this country we are engaged in great works necessary to our development, but in reality Imperial works of a most important character such as our Transcontinental Railways, our canal system, etc., are being undertaken and that while we have these extraordinary burdens to bear we should not be expected to contribute to the ordinary Imperial chest in the same proportion as if we were doing nothing toward strengthening the Empire. The conditions do not yet exist which would make it wise or reasonable for us to propose any scheme of representation in an Imperial Parliament. Then we have the proposal of an Imperial Council whose duties are to be not executive, but advisory only. This I believe has the support of Sir Frederick Pollock. There has been some development in this direction through the Colonial Conferences held in London, and that they are to have some continuous and permanent influence was clearly outlined in the reply of Lord Elgin to the question of Lord Jersey, in which the creation of a permanent office or department was proposed to preserve what has been done at each conference and to communicate information continuously to the self-governing dependencies. This has since been inaugurated. Thus is progress made step by step. The cause of sound Imperialism is prejudiced by those who are impatient of development. Why talk of changing the British Constitution? That most astute of writers upon such subjects, Mr. Sidney Low, says the British Constitution is partly law, partly history, partly ethics, partly custom and partly the result of the various influences which are moulding and changing the whole structure of society from year to year. So must our Imperial relations be the result of a process of evolution. Some who have watched that process as regards ourselves until to-day our autonomy and self-government are complete, seem to fear that the next step is separation. Complete state autonomy in the Republic to the South of us is not incompatible with federal cohesion; indeed the Sovereignty of the States is the basis of the Union. In the British dependencies the progress has been from Crown Colonies to

self-governing dominions; then the Home Government by Colonial Conferences and by direct communication consults these Dominions; and we need not be worrying about the exact shape the Imperial Federation will ultimately take; for there is no reason to fear that these Dominions that are bound together by community of interests by community of aspirations, and by a common conscience, will not, in the process of evolution, move naturally into those relations best fitted for co-operation in government and the preservation of the permanent unity of the Empire. For the present, I believe that if the Home Government desire to take us more into its confidence in matters affecting the Empire as a whole, we can be heard with more authoritative representation and with more convincing influence through the voice of our own Government and our own Parliament, than we could through any representation in the Lords and Commons at Westminster.

Without any shock to the British Constitution what changes there have been in our real relations toward the Mother Country! It would open a very wide subject for discussion—interesting, if not altogether tranquil—were I to refer at all to British diplomacy in matters affecting Canada. My good friend, Doctor MacPhail, thinks we are quite wrong when we suggest that in the past it has not been as wise or successful as it might have been. He thinks it has, and he has written very ably in defence of those statesmen and diplomatists who have negotiated treaties affecting us and our territory. I would not like to be convinced that we have ever taken advantage of any one, even in diplomacy, as I could not endure such a sense of guilt; but I really would like to be convinced that we had got something like what we were entitled to, that we had come out at least nearly square. Perhaps I will be so convinced—he says I will, if I agree to relax my pigheaded stubbornness long enough to examine the facts.

I am a very peaceably inclined individual and I never like reopening unpleasant matters; but on the other hand one thing that distinguishes a progressive people is that they learn from history and that they do not forget the lessons of history. The Mother Country has consulted Canada more and more in all matters in which Canada has a special interest and I think it must be admitted that that course has been a wise one. The result of the deliberations of the Halifax Commission which the Imperial Authorities committed to Canadians was eminently satisfactory. Without the slightest friction important issues were debated and settled and a reasonable award rendered. With reference to the more recent Alaskan Boundary Commission we cannot speak with the same freedom or with the same satisfaction. Of course, we accepted the tribunal having in its personnel two such distinguished Canadians as the present Minister of Justice and the present Chief Justice of our Court of Appeals whose high services on that commission will not soon be forgotten, and we are bound to accept loyally, if not cheerfully, the award it rendered. I hope, however, it will not be considered an unpardonable digression nor yet the re-opening of an unpleasant question if I say a word upon arbitration generally. The cause of arbitration is the cause of peace. There is no question the world is more interested in than that of arbitration. We are all tremendously interested in the question whether arbitration will win the confidence of the nations as a rational and just method of solving international difficulties. Civilization will have made its grandest advance when this is accomplished. The Russian fleet opened fire upon a lot of innocent Dogger Bank fishermen. And there was an arbitration. It afforded evidence of the peaceful disposition of the Empire that such a matter should be arbitrated at all, but upon calm

reflection it may be doubted whether the result really advanced the cause of arbitration in the world. If arbitration is ever to command confidence and is ever to become established as an honorable method of deciding international disputes it must be judicial in character. Of course, the temptation is great to find any possible solution of a difficulty rather than war, but the mixing up of diplomacy or other "grave reasons of state" with arbitration, will in the end deprive arbitration of the only element that can establish it or render it permanent as a great institution of civilization. If it cannot be safely counted upon as a reference to justice, it will soon come to be looked upon as an only half respectable way of shirking a fight. This view was forcibly expressed by General Harrison in his argument in the Venezuelan arbitration. Diplomacy is one thing; arbitration is quite another. They proceed by different methods, they rest upon different principles. Friendly mediation is one thing; arbitration is quite another, and their spheres must be kept separate if they are to hold their places among the resources of reason as a substitute for force. In a short time at the Hague an august tribunal will sit to decide several questions of great interest to us as Canadians and it must be very highly satisfactory to us that Sir Charles Fitzpatrick, the Chief Justice of Canada, will be one of the judges. This is satisfactory, not only because of his eminent ability, but because his selection is a recognition of our position in the Empire, and whatever the result may be I feel confident that we will have an argument and obtain a decision founded upon the principles of international law.

Our relations towards the Empire, both as regards our self-government and our relations with other nations, have improved wonderfully without any violent constitutional changes. You cannot truly speak of a policy of drift until it is clear that something positive ought to be done. Not a week ago a prominent banker in this city, when confronted with a very perplexing situation, used an expression which is worthy to become proverbial. "Have you ever considered," he asked, "how many questions are solved by silence?" We are not drifting, we are growing, we are working. We have shown by our British preference that in so far as the mighty ties of commerce go, we wish then to bind us closer to the Empire. You have recently listened to two very able addresses from Mr. Brierley and Mr. Williamson in which the subject of our naval policy was discussed from different points of view, and I shall not weary you now with any lengthy reference to it. We have at least shown that we realize our position in the Empire and that we are willing to do something more than cheer for the Flag; not that we are only willing to do something under the influence of a momentary fear, but that with a full sense of responsibility we are ready to adopt a policy of co-operation in the defence of the Empire, which, though it may be humble in its beginning, will, in the future grand and bright that lies before us, represent a mighty power to promote and to defend the principles that have been the glory of our Empire in the past and that shall continue to illumine its destiny.

May I be forgiven if I refer to a movement which has attracted some, though I think fortunately, not very much attention. I do so because its few disciples have from time to time spoken of Imperialism as though it were among our great national dangers. In a mixed community like ours with a population representing different races of origin, when we hear of any scheme of public policy or any propaganda touching public or national affairs, which is addressed to but one section of the population, the fact that it is so limited should be reason enough for very careful scrutiny of its motives and tendencies.

If any portion of the people be suffering any wrong or oppression or disability, it is but natural that it should unite to obtain a just recognition of its rights. If upon a fair study of the relations existing among the different elements of the population and of their share of influence in public affairs, it be found that no grievance exists calling for redress, then any appeal to race or sectional interest of any kind must be prompted by some other motive. What can that motive be? If it be separation from the Empire, in so far as it is an appeal to race it will quite as logically mean the disintegration of the Dominion. I do not believe that the few who are endeavoring to segregate the different races of the population have any such dream. In fact, I believe they would recoil in dismay from such a consequence of their agitation, if it appeared in the smallest degree probable. But the desire for political influence is strong in most of those who devote themselves to politics. Some obtain it as the just reward of long careers of public service, of integrity and sagacity in the administration of the public trust. Others seek it by the easier and more rapid method of promoting sectionalism. If a man can persuade any race or class, that it has some special interest that is in jeopardy, and that he is its defender, he establishes himself at once as a leader with a following that must be reckoned with, and he at once claims distinction and preferment far transcending that accorded to the careful, upright, single-minded public man who asks consideration of measures on their merits only, and devotes his life to the public good alone. It is a sad comment upon human nature that appeals to sectionalism, are so often successful. The particular interests of classes, the pride of race and even the devotion to creed predispose to a sympathetic hearing, and the listener is too often unequal to the effort of reason to detect the ulterior purpose or to the mental sifting of the grain of truth from the chaff. So it is easy to convince classes, if not that their special interests are menaced, at least that they will be none the worse for having special advocates. It is certainly not a situation in which our duty is doubtful. If in any minor matters friction exists, the cause of it should be removed. If any section of the community be not receiving full justice, let it point out where, and if anything wrong or unfair be shown let it be made right. The future of Canada as a nation within the Empire—and even if there were no Empire and she stood alone it would still be true—depends largely upon the unity of her people and the harmony of their purposes. A hundred and fifty years ago a compact was made between the two principal races forming our people, and it has been honorably kept on both sides. Far more than that, we have come to know each other better and to respect each other more. There is peace; there is harmony; there is confidence among us, and it is contrary to reason, to good faith and to honour for anyone, no matter who he is, to endeavor to unite one portion of our people as having national interests or aspirations differing from the whole.

When we are talking over such great questions as our relations to one another and our relations as a Dominion to the Empire I think we have nothing to lose by frankness. In a spirit of candour, then, let me ask whether English speaking people are not a little too fond of referring to the ties of blood and common origin that bind us to the Empire. Think of the millions throughout the world-wide federation, and even in this Canada of ours, to whom this naturally does not appeal. They are not strangers at the gate. They are one with us. They are true and loyal to the principles of justice and free civil institutions which are the real foundations of the Empire. If the Empire exact full allegiance, it grants full brotherhood—and in that lies something of the genius of true Imperialism. I heard the Lord

Bishop of Ripon, speaking in London, say :—"The British Empire is not an Empire of blood but an Empire of ideas and ideals," and the Bishop was right. In its world wide Dominions there are many races and many tongues; millions of men inspired by ideas and reaching upward toward ideals ; ideas of law and order and the protection of person and property; of responsible government and constitutional freedom; of single minded statesmanship and even handed justice; of liberty of conscience, and the sacredness of home ;—striving toward ideals not yet attained but shaping dimly in the reign of peace and progress that is yet to be. The Empire's greatness is not the Norman blood of the past, but the national life of the present, and in that national life all her true citizens may share alike, irrespective of birth, or origin, or creed, and to them all alike belongs her radiant future.

But only three days ago, we heard in our own House of Commons that the British Empire was destined to share the common fate of all human greatness—dismemberment, disintegration, decay. There was no reference to Macaulay's New Zealander, but we were told that just as ancient Empires had risen, flourished and fallen, so would our Imperial fabric crumble in obedience to the inexorable law of mutation. I should not like to attempt at this time to prove the probability of the "Final Perseverance" of our civilization. You might find some willing to debate whether the art of printing means the permanence of modern institutions. While there is life there must be change. If our Empire were held together by coercive power I would have little confidence in its duration. Its history has been in effect the history of human liberty ; those principles that made the old land great are to-day the inspiration of all her vast dependencies—dominions of immeasurable potentialities whose resources look far down the centuries yet to come. Let them but stand together with her, maintaining the principles that she holds dear, and the old Empire but begins to live; for truth and liberty and justice, in the fullness of time, shall suffer neither defeat nor decay.



